



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

A FRENCHMAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA IN 1791.

CITOYEN FERDINAND MARIE BAYARD, member of the "Société libre des Sciences, Lettres, et Arts de Paris," artillery captain and traveler, was in Baltimore in the year 1791, and spent the summer of that year at Bath Springs, in the Shenandoah Valley. That fact would be of but little interest to us to-day, if he had not published in France, sometime after his return to Europe, an account of his journey from Baltimore to Bath and his summer experiences in the Valley of Virginia.

France had just passed through her great and terrible Revolution, and was eager for any account of the young nation which she had aided in obtaining liberty a few years before. Owing to this and to the attractive nature of the book, the first edition, which appeared in 1797, was soon exhausted, and a second was issued in 1798, or the year VI., as the title-page has it. The book is quite rare in either edition. Copies of both editions are in the library of the Maryland Historical Society. Sabin's "Bibliotheca Americana" states that a copy of the first edition is in the Harvard University Library, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library possesses a copy of the second edition.

This second edition is not a mere reprint of the first, but a careful revision—for example, the account of the mode of crossing the Monocacy by a ferry is not found in the first edition, and the stream is alluded to there as only a large river. In addition to this revision and to a more accurate description of the places M. Bayard visited, he appends to the second edition a series of anecdotes of the military and political life of George Washington, with extracts from some letters pretended to be written by him. A failure to notice our first President at length seems to have been one of the criticisms made upon the first edition of his book.

These criticisms the author replies to in a prefatory note, in which the charge of having used new and unusual words is ingeniously repelled by the inquiry as to what body is to fix the language, now that the Academy has been suppressed.

The first edition contained an appended note of ten pages on Brissot, by J. J. Leuriète, which is omitted in the second edition.

The author was born at Moulins, in France, in 1763, and died in 1818. He himself is authority that he lived at one time at Strasburg. He was a man of wide culture and an author of some note. His works, as far as known,¹ were, in chronological order: (1) "*Voyage dans L'Interieur des États-Unis à Bath, Winchester, dans la vallée de Shenandoah, etc., etc., pendant l'Été de 1791;*" first edition, 1797, Paris, 8vo. (2) Second edition of the same, "*Augmentée de descriptions et d'anecdotes sur la vie militaire et politique de George Washington;*" 1798, 8vo, Paris. (3) French translation of Priestley's English Grammar; 1799. (4) "*Voyage de Terracina à Naples;*" Paris, 1802. (5) *Annales de la Revolution;* 3 vols. 8vo. (6) "*Tableau analytique de la Diplomatie Française, depuis la Minorité de Louis XIII. jusqu'à la paix d'Amiens, 1805;*" 2 vols. 8vo. (stops at 1715).

From the work which we are considering, we learn that he was an ardent Republican, though disapproving of the excesses of the French Revolution, and a personal friend of Thomas Jefferson. In the preface to the first edition, he gives an extract from a letter sent him by Jefferson in 1788, accompanying a presentation copy of one of Franklin's works. Being a Jeffersonian, he cordially hated Washington and the Federalists, as we shall see.

Bayard's work has almost been forgotten, but is surely worthy of notice from the accurate and careful picture he draws of the scenery, places, and people he saw.

In his preface M. Bayard criticises the other Frenchmen

¹Rose, "Biog. Dict.;" Hoefer, "Biog. Gen.;" Le Bas, "Encyc. de la France;" Querard, "France Littéraire;" "Biog. des Hommes vivants."

who had published American travels: Crèvecoeur, Chastellux, and Brissot. The first told more fiction than truth. The second, occupying himself solely with the facts which would interest the idle moments of an old nation, has not placed the Americans in the correct light. The third, though uniting to the views of a naturalist those of a statesman, covering a wider field, and presenting more interesting results, is nevertheless too partial to the Quakers.

For himself M. Bayard sets out with the motto:

Ignotis errare locis, ignota videre

Flumina gaudebat; studio minuenta laborem.

"It is thus that I traveled for the reader. My work is a collection of pictures, arranged in chronological order. But if, among these pictures, some are found sufficiently interesting from their design or coloring to excite the sentiment of a generous rivalry, I shall have been very useful."

In another place he says: "I proposed to depict the customs of the Americans and their domestic habits. I believe that task is accomplished—but another more difficult one was found inseparable from the first—namely, to avoid the monotony which regularity of traits causes. The first object needs an impartial and fair-minded observer; the second calls for talents, a fertile imagination, a practiced taste."

He thinks "all travelers have paid attention to making comparisons," and this he avoids as tending to flattery of one's own race. "An Englishman," says M. Bayard, "makes caricatures to preserve to his fellow-citizens that imagined superiority of which they are proud."

Bayard's method of writing is, first, to describe the physical characteristics of the places he visits, and then to relate, at some length, a conversation he had there, which shows that he was a very Yankee in seeking for information. If he does not do this, he goes off into rhapsodies over the beauties of nature and the moral character of the community, is reminded of a passage from some favorite author, or waxes sternly indignant over some vice he has noticed. The rhapsodies are a trifle tiresome, and gladly would we exchange them for further and more accurate descriptions.

The author was evidently a man of great learning and of far wider acquaintance with English literature than most foreigners of the day. He quotes from ten different English and American authors, from the Bible, and from classical Greek and Latin literature, as well as from writers in his native tongue.

As a good French Republican, Bayard hates negro slavery, and inveighs against it again and again. He praises a frontiersman who will have no slaves, and he forms a plan for universal emancipation by purchase, the money therefor to be contributed by Frenchmen. "In that act of justice," he says, "the glory and the expense ought to be indivisible." Still he is just: "I ought to do this justice to the Americans; they all acknowledge that slavery is as contrary to the principles of religion and morality as it is harmful to their happiness, but they fear poverty more than they love happiness. It is necessary either that slavery should be gradually abolished or that the public treasury recompense the slave owners." In speaking of the press, he says: "The newspapers printed in the Southern States are full of advertisements for runaway negroes. These announcements are adorned by a little engraving, of which this is the subject: a naked negro, stick in hand, with a little package under his arm, is running away, while the devil, with long horns on his forehead and outstretched arm, pushes the African by his shoulders. The idea is so much the more just, since a man must have the devil in him (*le diable au corps*) to fly from oppression, lashes, and tyranny." At that early period, M. Bayard found the customary arguments offered on behalf of slavery: that the slaves are better off than in Guinea; that the eternal life they gain by being brought to America and Christianized more than makes up for loss of liberty; that they need have no anxiety for the future, since their master cares for their wants; and being the descendants of Canaan they are included in the Noachian curse. At this last argument M. Bayard's wife exclaimed: "Would you make me detest the Bible?"

Our traveler tells us that he makes his journey to see the

country, to learn what the Americans in the rural districts were like, to get an idea as to what the country was destined to become, and to take his wife and infant son from the "scorching and pestilential mists of Baltimore." He speaks of summer resorts in a way which would not be very inaccurate to-day: "In the United States, as in Europe, the waters are not visited by the sick alone; pleasure and love draw thither the healthiest and most robust persons; but in America the unhealthfulness of the air in the cities during the excessive heat of the dog days is another motive for going thither. The months of June and July and August are deadly for infancy, maturity dreads their dangerous influence, and all go to seek the coolness of the woods and mountains and a purer air."

Of his starting point he tells us:

"Baltimore is situated on the north bank of the Patapsco, at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. It contains 28,000 inhabitants. Religious beliefs divide this population into German Calvinists, Lutherans, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Quakers, Nicolists, Anabaptists, New Jerusalemites, and Universalists. The plan of the city is irregular, because toward the bay there is a basin about which houses have been built, and because toward the north are elevations which could be leveled only with great difficulty, and which do not permit the streets to follow any straight line.

"Some principal streets have outlets. Such are Market Street and Gay Street. Others end at the basin and at the elevations which bound the northern part of the city. The quays are constructed with trunks of trees. The tide on retiring uncovers mud, whence rise infectious exhalations; the same is the case in Philadelphia. There are no public or private edifices which are more than mediocre. All the houses are of brick and built on the English plan—that is to say, their fronts are narrow, they are low, and they have great depth.

"The suburbs of Baltimore will be pleasant when they shall

be peopled. Nature has diversified the situation, and there is one prospect which deserves to be pointed out. From the summit of the hill on which Col. Howard's house is situated you see the Chesapeake Bay before you in the shape of a triangle whose sides are lost in space. At your feet is the city; at the right the Patapsco follows the windings of a hill on which plantations present the agreeable contrast of savage nature and nature adorned by art; on the left a cleared and cultivated country stretches to the ancient forests which bound the horizon. However beautiful this point of view may be, it is much inferior to that which *la côte d'Ingouville* presents.

"Baltimore has felt the benefit of freedom more than any other city in the United States. During the Revolution it was a wretched, straggling village, composed of a few mean wooden houses; to-day it is the fifth city in the United States in extent and the fourth in commerce. Its inhabitants carry on much trade with the Hanseatic cities, Holland, England, and our colonies. They export much tobacco and iron. Only one house fitted out ships for India in 1791."

Besides the journey of which he gives us an account, Bayard traveled in other parts of the country, having evidently visited Philadelphia and New Jersey. Indeed, he describes a visit to the Passaic Falls, near Paterson.

For traveling companions from Baltimore to Bath, besides his wife and babe, he had Jones, the driver, Mrs. C—y and her maid Molly, or Moly, as M. Bayard calls her. Of Mrs. C—y we know nothing, save that she was a resident of Baltimore and a tailor's daughter, a fact to which we owe a statement of some length in regard to the low esteem in which Americans hold that trade.

Of Jones and the manner of travel we have full account. "The owner of a hired carriage, which he drove himself, engaged to take us at forty-one francs apiece, baggage included. This man had two good horses, and a reputation for skill as good as that of his horses: it was a double recommendation, the full value of which we felt when we found ourselves on those abominable roads, where we were

threatened every second with being overturned upon masses of rocks or precipitated into chasms.

"As in England, American drivers stop after having gone three or four miles and water the horses. Jones, our driver, never forgot himself while the buckets of water were given to his horses. Traveling Americans rarely let this occasion escape for taking a dram (a little glass of brandy) or a bumper of grog. These frequent habits, very disagreeable in winter, are very well arranged for the horses, who regain their wind, and to whom they give fresh vigor; I, for my part, doubt if they could do without them, considering the customary rapidity with which they pass over the distances which are found between the relays.

"An American driver is a sort of magistrate, who decides on all questions within his jurisdiction. He takes part in the general conversation of the travelers and often guides it. Rarely are the most humble remonstrances made on his manner of driving. If any questions arise on the length, the conveniences of the roads, the quality of the horses, their pedigree, the fortune of the persons whose houses are adjoining the highways, he is consulted and heard with much deference."

The party started early one morning and breakfasted at "Hellicott's Lower Mill," where the Patapsco strongly impressed the travelers:

"The river . . . is shut in between two ranges of low and barren hills. Some small trees incline almost horizontally, and sway their hoary heads scarcely sustained by frail trunks. A light bed of soil covers a yellow sand which rains wash into the river. Moss and scanty tufts of some bitter plant, useless for cattle, carpet the gloomy amphitheaters which, by the echoing of the waters, double the melancholy of this wild abode.

"The bed of the river, but slightly depressed, is still rough with the remains of rocks, which the water has not yet been able to wear away. These masses rise above the surface of the stream, and by their resistance keep up a dull and lugubrious sound which is truly sepulchral.

"Avarice, though it does not adorn the abodes of its slaves, makes them at least endurable. The advantage which can be gained from a mill in this place makes the owner insensible to the horrors which surround him. Seeing only his pecuniary interests, deaf to all sounds which are not those of gold, he lives content in his frightful retreat; the sound of the waters which eat away the rocks does not trouble his repose.

"The leanness of the sheep and horned cattle shows the sterility of the land. A wretched garden, all of whose products seem to be torn from avarice, fields whose thin turf leaves the earth uncovered, plains incapable of producing even small oaks—such are the gloomy objects which the country shows from Baltimore to this mill. The earth seems to be covered only with rags in a month when, to use the expression of an English poet, 'nature puts on her bridal robes.' . . .

"I have passed through the most wretched parts of Champagne and Brittany; but they cannot be compared, without exaggeration, to the spot in which we then were."

Their reception was a contrast to the scenery, for "they served us a travelers' breakfast—that is, ham, broiled chicken with cream sauce, bread and butter, and tea and coffee. One of the Misses Hellicott sat at table to pour the tea, and acquitted herself with a maidenly reserve which contrasted pleasantly with the noisy eagerness of European hostesses."

Bayard was much interested in Ellicott's Mills and their owner, grave like all Quakers, and "speaking through his nose." "Our host was one of the Maryland Hellicotts, well known for the inventive genius which seems to belong to their family. Their mills are large, well-built, and equipped with a very large number of machines which take the place of hands. Our host's mill is not so fine as that of his parents, called the Upper Mill; but is not inferior to those of his brother millers."

The scene inspires our author to prophecy:

"Europe has furnished the Americans with all the inven-

tions they know, and the history of the mechanic arts in the New World will present only a series of dates in which the population, the clearing of the ground, a certain amount of money will favor the naturalization and adoption of our discoveries. The Americans will perfect the machines, which serve for the useful arts, because labor will be very dear among them for several centuries. Their mills are superior to ours; but that perfection is only the combination of things which we have invented and applied before them.

"This priority of Europeans in all kinds of industry is very unfortunate for Americans, because it places them under the yoke of an imitation too general and absolute. The objects worthy of being imitated are confounded with those they ought to proscribe; and it is perhaps because they take from England the models of their machines and their books that they may adopt blindly the maxims and the prejudices of the English people."

On his return to Baltimore he visited and described another of the Ellicott's Mills.

On leaving Mr. Ellicott they drove on, and next stopped at the Red House, a little tavern, still remembered, some ten or twelve miles farther on. Here the experience was not pleasant:

"It is a shabby enough inn, kept by a widow of remarkable reserve. She spoke only when necessary, and laconically enough for the insociable genius of the English language.

"They assured us in all the inns that they had everything, although generally they could offer us only eggs, chicken, ham, and very seldom a weak wine called Lisbon."

The party spent the night at the Red House, and experienced a thunderstorm. Bayard went into raptures over the scenery thereabouts, and speaks of hearing the "whip-poor-will" and the mocking bird. He refers also to the cat-bird and to the blackbird.

It is not without interest to have Bayard tell us that "some inhabitants of Maryland have made vain efforts to cultivate the vine on a large scale and in a useful manner.

M. Carroll is of this number, and for his laborious efforts obtained only some casks of poor wine, which cost him quite dearly. It is thought that the vine will prosper only in the Carolinas and Georgia, where the winters are like those of Provence. A large number of trees cannot be acclimated in Virginia and Maryland: such as walnut, the plum, and the fig. The first keeps only its trunk and a few branches, the fruit of the second quickly degenerates, and the third loses in winter all the wood which it adds in spring. European fruits in America are of an inferior quality to those which are found in the Old World."

The next stop was for breakfast, eight miles farther on, at an inn on the left of the road. There he was so kindly received that on departing he regretted he could not "embrasser" all the charming "personnes," as he would have done in France. He there saw "Sumak," honeysuckle, and the acacia (locust) in blossom; and later in the day, at a wretched negro hut, he had "homany," a porridge, he tells us, made "of maize broken in a mortar with some beans."

That afternoon he saw a negro flogged, which sight sent him into such a rage that he forgot to tell anything of the places he passed until he reached the "Monocacy." There he saw zigzag fences, log cabins, and tobacco growing; and thence he drove to "Frederiktown." "The streets here run with the cardinal points of the compass, and almost all the houses are brick. The only public edifice worthy of note is the courthouse. It is seen on a slight eminence which is covered with a lawn where the children come to enjoy the pleasures of their age. This house is square in shape. It has a small dome and a peristyle supported by Tuscan columns."

At Frederick, Bayard spent the night, and found excellent accommodation in the tavern kept by kind, pretty, and affectionate hostesses. "Such happy meetings are rare in America." In the evening he went to the club in the tavern to talk politics with its frequenters and learn the views of the Americans on the French authors who had lately written about the country.

The next morning the party goes on to Middletown over a very bad road, and finds there a church open to all denominations, which causes our friend to go into ecstasies of joy over the religious toleration found in the United States.

Middletown contained twenty-six houses; and there he came upon the Methodists, a class of people he loses no chance to abuse. Of their preachers he says:

“Imagine one of our furious Jacobins foaming with rage on the platform of a popular society, raving in the transport of a revolutionary fever, and you will have a picture resembling a Methodist. He speaks only of the terrible vengeance of God. ‘He will seize you by the throat in spite of your tardy repentance,’ said the foaming preacher, ‘and will hurl you to the deepest abyss of hell.’ Conversion was a revolutionary operation, and must be accompanied by howling and convulsive movements. Lucifer must be sabered, the vices exterminated at one blow, and the word of God was not recited fittingly unless it was spoken in an obscure and vulgar language. The ignorant fellow found it very evil that the ministers of the sects should speak their language purely and cast some flowers on the truth.

“‘It is not thus that the apostles converted the ignorant,’ added the fervent missionary. ‘They spoke without preparation like the sailors they were, and they abandoned eloquence to their enemies, the scribes and Pharisees, and other orators of the day.’

“These zealous Christians pride themselves on being very rude in their assemblies. They interrupt the speaker or listen with distracted air. Since they see in this brutality only the extravagance of zeal, they pardon the abuse in favor of the thing; but, if their preachers are disgusting, the manner in which they pray is almost as shocking. A dreadful concert of groanings is heard, which the minister makes more or less loud at his will. Often they cry at the top of their voices, then they take a lower tone, and thus go through the entire scale. Sometimes women roll on the floor and strike their heads.

"The Methodists no longer make so many conversions. Grace seems to have left them, since the habitual good sense of the Americans, roused by so many extravagancies, has made them see the foolishness of those doleful mummeries."

From Middletown they pass on to the mountains beyond, which he fully describes. On them he found the locust and "ickery." On the plains beyond many cattle are raised, which are taken to Baltimore; and tobacco is cultivated with success. On these mountains he was agreeably surprised to find a delightful household, whose head had visited "Kentucky," and told him of the far Western country, and of Louisiana, whose colonists, weary of the Spanish yoke, favor the Americans, and who expect that some day that colony will enter into the federation of the United States. At this house they spent the night, and had clean sheets, a thing so rare as to be worthy of mention.

The next day they descended to the "Potowmak," "there larger than the Seine at Rouen," and Bayard describes the fertile bottoms. The manufacture of maple sugar, which he there saw for the first time, is described, and we learn that "it was thought that maple sugar, if it could not rival cane sugar, could at least supply the consumption of the United States. That was the first cry of joy after the discovery: the friends of the blacks repeated the sentiment. At last they had found a tree which should free the Africans." But unluckily the culture of tobacco proved to be more profitable than that of maples, and the negroes remained enslaved.

During autumn, boats coming from Alexandria and Georgetown pass up the river laden with grain. After that season the transportation is over; and if any one should forget to provide himself, he must make a journey to Winchester.

"Heagarstown" or Hagarstown seems not to have been reached on the journey to Bath; but on the return journey Bayard passed through it. He calls it a "little Maryland city, situated on an elevated hill which commands the valley of the Conegocheague. From the summit of this elevation the view extends over a well-cultivated country on the

right and left, but it is limited on the east and west by lofty mountains. The city of Hagerstown is regularly built; its streets are large and straight. Its inhabitants are almost all millers or merchants, and they carry on their business very well, whether it be with the maritime cities, where the millers carry their flour, or with the inhabitants of the West, whom the merchants supply with colonial products and objects manufactured in Europe. At some distance from the city I found four iron cannons which, from their weight and long time, had sunk in the earth. The surroundings of the city are picturesque, as are all the sites of the mountain country; the earth is fertile, and receives in spring the tribute which the surrounding mountains pay, as they are laden with the remains of vegetation."

Arriving at Bath, Bayard spent a most delightful summer. In fact, he did not leave until October. He was charmed with the Virginia women at first sight, and says they are "tall and slender, and have much more expression than other American women. Although they seem made more for the labors of Diana than for the sports of love, they nevertheless obey the laws of that master of gods and men."

"Loving and faithful wives, tender and industrious mothers, compassionate mistresses, they have all the virtues which preserve the love that their charms inspire. Negro slavery has not yet degraded them, and this is a wonder which seems most marvelous when one knows the customs of the women of the French or English colonies. It is only necessary to compare the expression of a Virginian woman with that of a Creole to perceive the difference of the souls which animate the two beings."

Bayard boarded with Mrs. "Trok Morton" (a cousin of Gen. Washington) and, liking the country, traveled up the valley to Winchester. He also mentions by name Mr. and Mrs. Am.; Mrs. B., widow of Col. B.; Mr. West; Miss Lee; Mr. Bush, a German innkeeper at Winchester; Mr. Smith, a planter and son-in-law of Mr. Bush. Winchester, he says, is built on a little hill, and "will be a manufacturing city, because in all fertile countries mankind multiplies rapidly,

and industry is pleased in fertile and populous places; but when there shall exist communication with the sea, by means of canals or rivers, the degree of activity in manufactures will be incalculable." The Shenandoah and the "Potowmack" will transport Winchester's goods, Washington and Georgetown will become its entrepôts, and still its merchandise will fill the storehouses of Alexandria and Norfolk. In Winchester already are made famous carriages and excellent shoes, boots, and saddles.

On his trip to Winchester, Bayard was excellently entertained, and tells us of long political discussions he had with Col. David P., a former aid-de-camp of Washington, while staying at his plantation. He also later went to a "fish feast." He further writes of five o'clock teas, concerts, and performances of strolling theatrical troupes which he attended at Bath.

The Virginian men of this section he found tall, slender, and well-educated, affable, hospitable, friends of the French and of liberty, whose cause they defended with courage and devotion during the Revolutionary war. Their manners did not impress the Frenchman favorably. "The manners of the well-to-do inhabitants of this country are rustic and violent. They swear, they get drunk, gamble, and often fight. They have a kind of combat unknown to the Americans of the East. The athletes use fists, feet, and teeth. They agree to try to gouge out each other's eyes," a process which he proceeds to describe: "First, a lively fisticuff; then, twisting a lock of the antagonist's hair round the forefinger, they stiffen the thumbs, and, pressing these strongly at the corners of the eyes, make the eyeballs pop out, amid the applause of the spectators."

"Each day on our walk we saw groups formed around drunken athletes, whom the point of honor obliged to box; the women, frightened, fled these barbarous pastimes, revived from the English. Generally a bruiser [a bone breaker, he explains] is the judge of the combatants, and causes the observance of the regulations agreed upon in these kinds of British sports."

At the springs, there was a dance every week, and tea parties were very frequent. "The gamblers assemble at billiards in the taverns, where they often spend the entire night. At first these were only gambling coteries; but soon a 'Gentleman' who kept a Pharoah bank became a central point for the great majority of Americans.

"Gambling furnishes the expenses which luxury demands, and the Virginians are not free from vanity. They are almost all gamblers."

For the family life, however, he has nothing but praise, and goes into raptures such as this: "In the United States fitness of fortune, with some few exceptions, is subordinated to moral fitness, and the two sexes get along very well. The unions are sentimental and fortunate; the happiness of families is the first result, and purity of manners is preserved without having need of the watchfulness of the magistrate. The daughter, the spectator of the cares which form her mother's happiness, loves them before she has felt their charms. All children brought up in the bosom of a good household, happy in the harmony of the family, prepare themselves instinctively for that state of happiness, and become virtuous on becoming men."

Of Maryland tastes and manners M. Bayard draws a somewhat more favorable picture; although, as he says, they are pretty much alike in the two countries. If any new purchaser comes to live in a Maryland neighborhood, he is at the very first visited by all his neighbors. On the morrow, or the day after, at the latest, he sees negroes arrive, some carrying hams and fresh meats; others butter, eggs, cream, etc. His neighbors have told him that he can borrow servants, horses, carriages, and all that he needs. At the time of his first crop they aid him, if he lacks hands, and, if he acquires the esteem of the inhabitants of the neighborhood, he finds them disposed to serve him with all their means at all times.

Of these hospitable cares, Bayard received the advantage when he dwelt in the country near Elkridge; they are found everywhere, there is no establishment which has not its Caleb

Dorsey and men who resemble him. (A note informs us that Mr. Dorsey is a Maryland planter, whose hospitality and honesty have become proverbial: his wife has virtues which merit for her the veneration of all who know her.)

"I acknowledge that when I saw this procession direct its course toward my house I thought that it was the custom to delight a newcomer with the sight of a fair. All these presents are returned; but the eagerness with which I sent back ham for ham, fowl for fowl, etc., seemed precipitate, and my neighbors, who spoke out all they thought, accused me of pride.

"There was only one bad fellow in a neighborhood where twenty families lived. He fed his negroes so poorly that they were not received into any house, and for this reason: that their master made theft necessary for them by not feeding them. These wretched slaves would willingly have given the preference to the monster who starved them, but when they did that the villain tore them to pieces. If they happened to rob a neighbor, they found in their master a witness who removed suspicion, and an accomplice who did all the trickery necessary to frustrate investigation.

"It was said that two other persons of the neighborhood permitted their cattle to go into others' meadows; but the proofs were not so numerous as to attest the facts, and the neglect of the servants to put up the fences might have been the cause of the fault with which they were reproached.

"In Maryland, as elsewhere, one can live on good terms with everybody by avoiding debates about profit and by not asking debtors to be very punctual. Americans do not like to be troubled. When they are lent money it is understood it is lent until they judge it necessary to return it. Since that silent condition is understood, creditors do not curse debtors, and few expose themselves to the torments of impatience."

Bayard was greatly pleased with the religious character of the people and their observance of Sunday, but their educational methods he thought very bad.

"Children are well brought up in the household, because

there they enjoy the greatest liberty and very little notice is taken of what they do. . . . But if they are happy in the bosom of the family, the age of iron quickly follows the age of gold.

"The schoolmasters follow a system fitter to train slaves than to form citizens. An English or American teacher is the gloomiest and most pedantical prig that a little learning ever produced. In vain did Dr. Benjamin Rush recommend the humane method of Rousseau. The pedants unanimously rejected it, and continue to make scholars pay with whippings for a very petty fund of knowledge. The great argument of the gentlemen is that the dignity of men like themselves can be compromised by the pranks of a lively and witty child; that the dignity of their schools, moreover, is under that danger. 'But you should expel the disobedient,' we replied.

" 'Horrible thought,' answered the dealer in knowledge. 'Then I am a whole quarter's pay out of pocket. It is better to whip the scholars than to expel them.'

"The unhappy ones who study under these pedants soon lose that sweetness of character which they had brought to the school, and on leaving that place of punishment you see them torment and beat each other. They learn a little Latin, arithmetic, and some principles of practical geometry, which they apply to surveying. The parents then apprentice a son to an attorney or a doctor, according as they wish to make a squire or a physician of the young gentleman.

"Americans of wealth destine their children for the bar. The young men become attached to the effeminate and licentious life of the cities, which they accordingly prefer to that of the country. It follows that they farm out their plantations, which become exhausted; and that agriculture, abandoned to the poorer classes, loses the consideration which it ought to enjoy in all countries in the world. This absurd vanity, calling enlightened men to a profession which is only lucrative, in so far as obscure laws are accomplices of the passions, gives no hope that they, who base their fortune on the vices of the judiciary system, will propose reforms ad-

vantageous to their fellow-citizens. It is, on the contrary, presumable that they will perpetuate the bad laws from which they expect increase of fortune. After two years of study with a lawyer, the student undergoes an examination before judges. If he is sufficiently instructed, he has the right to plead cases. They have not thought it necessary to make doctors submit to that formality."

The friendship of Americans seemed to M. Bayard very true and enduring. "That sympathetic union of souls which binds them by good will, which fastens them with a chain that distance cannot break, mingles its sweetness with that of marriage and paternity. . . . Many generous men are found in the United States who have injured their business by giving security for a friend. In the country it almost seems as if agricultural implements are owned in common, so little ceremony is used in borrowing. Neighbors who would refuse this aid would be marked as hard and disobliging persons: the Germans and their descendants have this reputation. They would not lend a pinch of snuff, the Americans say." Bayard thinks, however, this bad reputation is scarcely deserved.

Another trait causes his admiration. "The Americans have not reddened their scaffolds with the blood of their defenders. Either national gratitude surrounds the dying hours of the great men who founded their republic or calumny does not come to trouble their last moments. With us the most infamous ingratitude was the reward of watchings, dangers, and civic labors. We have covered with filth those who broke our fetters. . . . In my fatherland the ashes of Harmodius are trodden under foot carelessly by the stupid passer-by."

For amusements in autumn and winter, when the earth is not covered with several feet of snow, Bayard found hunting parties very common, and tells us that "there are few farmers who have not three or four hunting dogs; others have small packs: in any neighborhood in Maryland enough dogs can be brought together to hunt a fox."

To the Indians Bayard devotes much attention, and quotes

in full Logan's speech, supposed to have been written by Jefferson.

His information concerning the customs of the Indians seems very accurate, and was probably largely derived from the great Delaware chief, Cornplanter, with whom he became well acquainted, and from whom he got a very low idea of William Penn, because, instead of fiercely robbing the Indians of their land, "he only used the fox's skin." Bayard speaks of supping with Cornplanter (*Planteur de mais*), and of the presentation to him of a pipe at Philadelphia during the winter of 1791, at which occasion Bayard was present.

In the political history of the country our traveler was well informed, and discusses the history of the Quakers in New England and the causes of the American Revolution. In his judgment of current events he was an ardent hater of England. The neutrality of the United States seemed to him ungrateful, and in effect an indirect alliance with the British. "The friends of the French reproach Washington with being ungrateful toward a people who contributed so greatly to his fortune; and the Americans, who are not insensible to the glory of their country, said that this neutrality is a dishonorable act of ingratitude, an indelible stain. I added to these reflections that this cowardly desertion, by whatever name it be called, served only to cloak the distinguished favor shown to the English. The executive power of the United States is in my opinion guilty of ingratitude and of disloyal actions. It is ungrateful to the French, and has deceived the American merchants."

The fact that Bath took its name from the English watering place, it being originally called Warm Springs, leads Bayard to burst forth:

"It is that imitative mania to which must be ascribed the naturalization of those ideas deadly to national prosperity which, like slow poisons, develop gradually and corrupt future generations.

"Americans, your name is fine enough! you have means enough to render it as illustrious as it is dear to free peoples

without seeking borrowed ornaments outside of your country; but in fine, if, forgetting yourselves, you wish to imitate any people, why prefer that one whose political crimes have shed the blood of all the families of the human race?"

Bayard doubts the continuance of the nation: "The United States would become a colossal power on the continent, if they were not destined some day to be divided into peoples still powerful enough to make themselves respected by European nations." The epoch of that great separation is not far distant. "The Delaware and the Apalaches" will be the political barriers.

"The difference of their products having diversified their needs and manufactures, they already perceive the inconvenience of a system of duties which, being too general, becomes unjust. This injustice was very well shown in Congress by the representatives from the Eastern and Southern States when the tax on distilled liquors was established; but as the members from the Northeastern States formed the majority, the rest had to submit. They are weary of these concessions, and will refuse when they are sufficiently strong to do what they desire."

Not only does he notice sectional feeling, but the more narrow and intense patriotism to one's State seems remarkable to him.

"This blind partiality, child of ignorance, is very noticeable among the Americans. A stranger, who should consult alternately the inhabitants of the fifteen United States, would find himself in the greater perplexity. I have been witness of one very lively scene between two young men, born the one in Maryland and the other in Connecticut, who were disputing as to the respective merits of their respective States. The Marylander swore on his honor that there was not on the earth a more attractive country than his fatherland and more amiable men than his fellow-citizens. The inhabitant of Connecticut said just as much for his State and his compatriots. Soon the two rivals, forgetting that I was a European, became extremely frank, and I found that they had good enough reasons to be keenly affected by the

reproaches which each of them cast at the compatriots of his opponent."

Of the American press Bayard had a high opinion. The newspapers are all written with sufficient impartiality, because they respect the liberty of the press as the ægis of civil, religious, and political liberty. "They count on the justice and good sense of their fellow-citizens, and declare that the liberty of the press is the sacred ark which must not be touched."

Literature and science find, from time to time, a small place in American newspapers; and, to prove this, our author translates an article on the "Marine Cat of Kamtchatka," which has appeared in one of them.

The Society of the Cincinnati, as reviewed by M. Bayard, was fraught with grave danger to the young republic. Scarcely had peace been signed when a military fraternity which, in a note, he compares to the Templars, Hospital Teutonic Knights, and the Order of St. Lazarus, comes forth fully armed from the camps, and menaces the equality of political rights. Not only is this a sign of coming aristocracy; but the new Constitution, instead of abolishing titles of nobility, only forbids their being granted. It seems difficult to understand how that could be abolished which did not exist in the United States; but the failure to do this was a cause of grave disquiet to Bayard.

After all, the chief interest of the book consists not in the mistaken political views of the author but in "the pleasanter object" which, as he on the title-page tells us, invited his spirit to contemplation: "the happiness of simple men living in the abundance of primitive things."

BERNARD C. STEINER.

Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.